

WASHINGTON CITY.

SUNDAY MORNING, DEC. 3, 1864.

The following members of Congress arrived yesterday: Hon. William Barksdale, of Mississippi; Hon. D. J. Bailey and Hon. E. W. Chastain, of Georgia; Hon. G. A. Simmons, Hon. J. J. Taylor, Hon. E. B. Morgan, and Hon. Mr. Teller, (successor to Hon. Gilbert Dean,) of New York; Hon. Moses B. Corwin, Hon. George Bliss, and Hon. W. R. Sapp, of Ohio; Hon. J. C. Allen and Hon. Richard Yates, of Illinois; Hon. John Dick, of Pennsylvania; Hon. Thos. A. Hendricks, Hon. John G. Davis, and Hon. Norman Eddy, of Indiana; Hon. Samuel C. Crocker, Hon. S. H. Walley, Hon. A. De Witt, and Hon. Tappan Wentworth, of Massachusetts; Hon. T. S. Beacock, of Virginia; Hon. John Wheeler, Hon. William Murray, Hon. B. Pringle, Hon. S. G. Haven, and Hon. D. T. Jones, of New York; Hon. Harry Hibbard, of New Hampshire; Hon. Edward Ball, Hon. J. L. Taylor, and Hon. J. Scott Harrison, of Ohio; Hon. H. A. Edmondson, of Virginia; Hon. James J. Lindley, of Missouri; Hon. G. R. Riddle, of Delaware; Hon. Charles Ready, of Tennessee; Hon. M. C. Trout, Hon. John Robbins, Jr., Hon. H. B. Wright, Hon. R. M. Middleworth, and Hon. Joseph R. Chandler, of Pennsylvania; and Hon. O. S. Seymour, of Connecticut.

The following members have arrived: Hon. Messrs. Cuss, Sumner, Seward, Rockwell, George W. Jones, James, and Toucy.

Orders for the President's message, in pamphlet form, will be received at this office. The same will be ready for delivery immediately after its presentation to Congress.

A report reached us just as we were going to press that the Hon. Henry A. Wise had been nominated for governor by the democratic State convention of Virginia.

FUSION.

Is the whig party merged in the incongruous medley of abolitionism, free-soilism, know-nothingism, &c., &c., &c., *ad infinitum*, or are they all absorbed in the whig party? Is whiggery the great menstruum in which they are to be fused and amalgamated into one harmonious mixture? Time only can unravel the mystery. It will be disclosed when they come to act together in the legislatures of those States where they have acquired the ascendancy.

All experience proves that fusion in politics is but another name for confusion. There can be no consistent or permanent action in political parties that is not based on great fundamental principles recognized by all, or at least a vast majority, of their members. We may be told that mankind are governed by their interests, and are not disposed to deny that, as a general rule, this position is not far from the truth; but the different members of a community, or a State, or a confederation, have different interests; and it rarely happens that they can be brought to act in concert by the force of this bond alone. They require a common consent, and this can only be found in a general communion of opinion and principles having a nobler origin than mere sordid personal interests.

Ambitious leaders, or those who aspire to lead, may be exclusively, or partially, governed by interested motives; but the great masses of the people neither covet nor aspire to public honors or public offices. They are impelled by certain fixed principles in their political action, and, though often misled, always believe themselves right. If not wise, they are honest in their convictions, and if deceived soon come to their senses. If, therefore, we are not greatly mistaken, the late triumph of that incongruous medley, that undisciplined combination of *isms*, which is now nicknamed the whig party, in Pennsylvania and some other States that have heretofore rallied under the stripes and stars of democracy, will speedily lead to a defeat more disastrous than that brought on it by the almost treasonable course of the old federal party during the late war with England, which forced it to the expedient of seeking shelter under an *alias* to hide its delinquencies and perpetrate new offences. This boasted victory is worse than that of Pyrrhus, and will not even require another to undo them.

It is impossible such a combination can long hold together. It is more unnatural than that of England, France, and Turkey. It is composed of moral antipathies quite as repellant as chemical ones, which are forbidden to amalgamate by an inflexible law of nature. You cannot mix oil and vinegar even in politics. We, therefore, confidently predict that this fusion of factions will speedily end in utter confusion. If they attempt to ingraft their heterogeneous principles on the legislation of the States or the general government, the common sense of the whole country will rise in mass and scatter the fragments of their different factions to the winds; and if they do not make the attempt, the disappointed enthusiasts of every grade and color of fanaticism, will fly off in a tangent, and each again set up for itself to perish in its own individual insignificance. Democrats as we are, we almost regret the depth into which the old federal party has fallen. Previous to the late war with England it was a respectable party, under the conduct of distinguished leaders, identified with certain great principles which they were neither afraid nor ashamed to avow. It marched up boldly to the attack under its own banner, wore its own proper uniform, and scorned any disguises. The contests between the federalists and democrats were for principles as well as power, and, instead of undermining, gave additional stability to the temple of freedom.

But in an evil hour, and misled by evil counsel, the federal leaders took sides with the enemy against their country, and their country never forgave them. Since then that party has rapidly descended. It changed its name without changing its principles; or if it changed them at all, it was only to adopt others, until, at last, and at this very moment, it is reduced to the deplorable necessity of following the example of the petty Italian princes of the middle ages, and calling to its aid the "free companies," who paid no regard either to the rights of individuals, the peace of society, or the laws of the land. It has invoked to its assistance the gorgon of fanaticism in all its varieties. It has appealed to every obliquity of the human mind, every excess of the passions, and every perversion of reason in its vast final effort. We have now only to wait for its inevitable overthrow.

"THE COWARDLY TURKS."

If anything connected with the bloody tragedy of Sebastopol could be ridiculous, it would be the language of British letter-writers and public journals applied to the Turkish soldiers who deserted their guns in the late attack of the Russians on the batteries of the allied forces. They are called "the cowardly Turks," are stigmatized by every epithet of opprobrium, and their conduct at Silistria and in their own encounters with the Russians when defending their own positions, bitterly contrasted with that before Sebastopol.

Now, the whole history of the Moslems proves they are no cowards. From first to last—from the Crusades to the later wars with Hungary, Germany, and Russia—they have proved equally brave with the bravest of their competitors. On all these occasions they have believed themselves fighting in defence of their religion, and their Prophet has assured them that those who die in such a holy cause will be at once placed in full possession of all the sensual delights of the Mahomedan Paradise. It is not unlikely that they would shrink from encountering a death which they were assured directly led to eternal bliss. Accordingly, there is no race of men, not even our Indians, who meet death with greater composure than the Moslems, whether it comes in the shape of the bow-string of the Sultan, or a bullet on the field of battle where they believe themselves fighting in defence of their faith.

This was the case when defending the banks of the Danube on the one frontier—a position they could perfectly comprehend. They were fighting under the flag of the

Crescent, in defence of their own soil, and the scribes of the allied powers have ungrudgingly celebrated their gallantry in the most enthusiastic terms. During all this period the allied powers stood looking on without offering their aid, when it was most wanted. They were employed in fortifying the towns on the European side of the sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles; in occupying them with their troops; in virtually taking possession of Constantinople, under pretence of protecting it from the Russians; and, in short, in placing a ring in the Mussulman's nose, through the agency of which they would be as much at the mercy of the allied powers, in the event of their success, as they would have been at the mercy of Russia without their protection.

What is now the position of the Ottoman empire? The Danubian principalities, instead of being in the joint occupation of Russia and Turkey, according to treaty, are now occupied by some four hundred thousand Austrians, as much the ancient enemies of the Turks as the Russians. Their presence effectually paralyzes the operations of Omer Pasha, as is evident from his late inactivity; and at this moment it is a mooted point whether the Austrian army is there as the cat's-paw of Russia, or as one of the protecting powers watching over the integrity of the Ottoman empire.

On the other hand, the Mussulman sees himself called from the defence of his fireside, as it were, to a distant region which long since passed from the dominion of the Sultan, there to fight, not for the Crescent, but the Cross, under a banner which he has long considered not only hostile, but the emblem of that infidelity which his religion teaches him equally to abhor and despise. And for what purpose is all this? To gain possession of a maritime station—not for his own or for his benefit, but to be occupied, if such a thing be possible, by those in whose hands it may be made more dangerous to the independence of the Ottoman empire than if held by Russia.

It is under such a banner, in such company, and for such objects, the Mussulman is expected to fight; and if he fails to exhibit his usual ardor when battling in defence of his country and his religion, he is branded with every epithet of contempt and obloquy. The truth is, the eyes of the Mussulman begin to be opened to the true position of the empire, which, in point of fact, is placed between hawk and buzzard. They begin to see that, whichever party prevails, they will be the scape-goats, and that whoever dares believe they are sacrificing themselves before Sebastopol, not in defence of the religion of the Prophet, or the rights of his representative, but of those who, instead of protecting, are now in fact calling on them for protection. Is it any wonder, then, that under all these circumstances the Turks should have fought so bravely on the Danube, and run away at Sebastopol? In one case, if they fell, they were sure of Paradise; in the other, their Prophet has assured them of eternal perdition.

BRILLIANT FEAT OF ARMS.

One of the incidents in the last great battle of which we have an account between the well-matched hostile armies before Sebastopol is described as follows by the correspondent of the London Times:

"As the Russian cavalry on the left of their line crown the hill, across the valley they perceive the Highlanders drawn up at the distance of some half mile, calmly waiting their approach. They halt, and squadron after squadron flies from the rear, till they have a body of some 1,500 men along the ridge—lanes, dragoons, and husars. Then they move on *en echelon* in two bodies, with another in reserve. The cavalry who have been pursuing the Turks on the right are coming up to the ridge beneath us, which conceals our cavalry from view. The heavy brigade in advance is drawn up in two columns. The first column consists of the Scots Greys and of their old companions in glory, the Ebniskillers; the 2d of the 4th royal Irish, of the 5th dragoon guards, and of the 1st royal dragoons. The light cavalry brigade is on their left, in two divisions also. The silence is oppressive; between the cannon-bursts one can hear the clapping of bits and the clink of sabres in the valley below. The Russians on their left drew breath for a moment, and then in one grand line dashed at the Highlanders. The ground lies beneath their horses' feet. Gathering speed at every stride, they dash on toward that this or that, topped with a line of steel. The Turks fire a volley at 800 yards and run. As the Russians come within 600 yards, down goes that line of steel in front, and out rings a rolling volley of Minnie musketry. The distance is too great. The Russians are not checked, but still sweep onward with the whole force of horse and man, through the smoke, here and there broken over by the shower of bullets. With breathless suspense every eye waits the bursting of the wave upon the line of Gaelic rock; but ere they come within 150 yards another deadly volley flashes from the levelled rifle and carries death and terror into the Russians. They wheel about, open file right and left, and fly back faster than they came. 'Bravo, Highlanders!' well done,' shouted the excited spectators. But ere the Highlanders and their splendid front are seen forgotten; men scarcely have a moment to think of this fact that the 95d never altered their formation to receive that tide of horsemen. 'No,' said Sir Colin Campbell, 'I did not think it worth while to form them even four deep.' The ordinary British line, two deep, was quite sufficient to repel the attack of these Muscovite chivalry."

This achievement on the part of Sir Colin Campbell and his Highlanders was deemed so gallant a one as to be entitled to the distinction of special commendation in general orders as follows:

General Orders.

HEADQUARTERS, Oct. 29, 1854.

[No. 1.]

The commander of the forces feels deeply indebted to Major General Sir Colin Campbell for his able and persevering exertions in the action in front of Balaklava on the 25th instant, and he has great pleasure in publishing to the army the brilliant manner in which the 93d Highlanders, under his able direction, repulsed the enemy's cavalry. The Major General had such confidence in this distinguished regiment that he was satisfied that it should receive the charge in line; and the result proved that his confidence was not misplaced.

By order:

J. B. B. ESTCOURT, A. G.

We concur with the British journals in applauding the gallantry and success of Sir Colin Campbell in repelling the assault in line and repelling a charge of cavalry—a feat of arms which richly deserved the mention of it in orders made by Lord Raglan. There is, indeed, no braver or better officer than Sir Colin Campbell in the British or any other service.

But the journals err in assuming, as some of them do, that it is without parallel in our day. The following extract from the public documents connected with the battle of Buena Vista gives an account of a precisely similar achievement:

"We had proceeded but a short distance when I saw a large body of cavalry debouch from his cover on the left of the position from which we had retired, and advance rapidly upon us. The Mississippi regiment was fired to the right, and fronted in line across the plain; the Indiana regiment was formed on the bank of the ravine, in advance of our right flank, by a re-entering angle was presented to the enemy. Whilst this preparation was being made, Sergeant-Major Miller, of our regiment, was sent to Captain Sherman for one or more pieces of artillery from his battery."

The Mississippi Free Trader, conducted by Edward Pickett, Jr., esq., is one of the ablest democratic papers of the day, and contends with great force against the new secret organization.

HON. G. W. JONES.

The Lincoln (Tennesse) Journal says the following deserved compliment to a most faithful, efficient, and capable representative, whose ability, integrity, and strict devotion to democratic principles have stood the test of fourteen years' service:

"Mr. Jones left home on last Monday for the seat of government, via the southern route. His many personal friends in Washington will be pleased to see him in the enjoyment of excellent health and able to undergo the duties of the most arduous session. In this connection it may be proper for us to state, that, in answer to the interrogatory of many friends before leaving home as to whether he would be a candidate for re-election, we understand Mr. Jones has uniformly said that he expected to be a candidate at the proper time, unless something should intervene to satisfy him that a majority of the district desire some other gentleman to represent them; in that event he will not obtrude his name upon them."

"Mr. Jones, at the same time, his presence, will have been fourteen years in Congress—how faithfully and satisfactorily to his constituents the increased vote received at every succeeding election testifies."

"We risk nothing in making the assertion that no man has applied himself more exclusively to his public duties, or enjoyed a more unbounded confidence from his constituents, than Mr. Jones; and we venture to say, at no time during his long career has the service of men known patriotism, unending integrity, and sound discriminating judgment, been more required than in the next Congress; and at no time have the people of this district, so far as we have any information, expressed a greater desire to retain Mr. Jones in Congress than in the next. But our readers are well aware of all this, and we need not amplify upon the subject further at present."

HON. A. H. STEPHENS.

The Columbus Enquirer of the 23d ultimo says: "The numerous friends of this gentleman will be gratified to learn that he has entirely recovered from his late illness, which confined him in our city last week. He left for his residence on Monday morning last."

THE ARCTIC DISASTER.

As a matter of justice to Mr. E. K. Collins, we make room for the following letter from his son. It is in reply to a statement recently put forth by Mr. Dorian, late of the steamer Arctic:

I wish to make to you a few remarks relative to Mr. Dorian, with regard to my father's greeting him with congratulations and commendations of his good conduct. Such is not the case, for my father did not even know him until about ten days ago, when he called to see my father in relation to his going out in the steamer Arctic, and, as a result, he stated that he had done that no person or persons that were of the crew of the late steamship Arctic were to be employed on any of the ships of the Collins line, and he could not deviate from that order. It was not until after my father made the remark that Mr. Dorian made himself known to my father, who then remarked that his (Mr. Dorian's) case might be an exception. With regard to the statement of Mr. Dorian, that he was the father of young Holland, in regard to the wines and liquors, and to which he says Capt. Lee took exception, I have from Capt. Lee's own lips what passed between Mr. Dorian and himself, viz: That the public had from him (Mr. Dorian) a statement formed the opinion that the ship was in the hands of the passengers, and that he should have known better that to make such a statement, and that he (Capt. Lee) had, upon learning that the firemen had broken into the store-room containing liquor, ordered the store-keeper to destroy all liquor on board of the ship—a very necessary precaution, I think you will agree with me. How Mr. Dorian could see or hear that the bar was broken open, I cannot understand, as he stated to me that he did not know of it until after the fact. He then went to Mr. Dorian's letter to my father, I have to state that it was verbally answered by my father, that he could not then give Mr. Dorian a certificate of good conduct, unless he would procure a letter from Capt. Lee to that effect—my father remarking that the only evidence he had of his having done his duty was that he had not been drunk, and that he had not been in relation to the much-abused Mr. Dorian, that he shipped on board the Arctic to go the voyage as third officer, and that he has been paid his wages in full, and has also received, by directions of my father, \$50, and who also ordered his tailor's bill of \$90 to be paid and charged to his private account.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN COLLINS, JR.

From the Luzerne Union.

THE POLITICAL CLEGGY.

We see in our exchanges that the Rev. Robert B. Hall, of Plymouth, who is the know-nothing congressman elect from the first district in Massachusetts, has commenced a suit for libel against Benjamin Lindsey, editor and proprietor of the New Bedford Mercury. Damages laid at \$20,000. Certain articles in the edition of Saturday, the 18th, charging Mr. Hall with the perpetration of a foul and disgusting crime while in his connection with a religious society in Roxbury, are the grounds for the commencement of the suit. Here we have a commencement of the production of the unwholesome fruits that must result from the clergy's entering the political lists.

These clerical politicians claim much more consequence than any other of our fellow-citizens, and deny the press the right to criticize their conduct. They (most blasphemously, in our opinion) demand this or that, or remonstrate against this act or the other, in the name of the Almighty God; and no other citizen or editor has a right to question their views, or ask why they do so. Now, if we would make a list of the names of those who would make a dash the moment an opportunity presented itself of exhibiting their prowess.

It is true that at close quarters large vessels-of-war would have over these craft the advantage of high bulwarks. They are, however, not intended for such service, but for attacking them at a long range, and from those shallow waters in which the positions I have mentioned so much abound. It is also true that an equal number of line-of-battle ships of ours would dispose, in all probability, if we judge of the future by the past, of any fleet the enemy might send across the Atlantic; but when would they be built? Very late, if ever—too late to answer the purposes that a less costly and more widely armament would almost instantly effect—the right policy of our coasts and of its neighboring islands.

It is well known that a shell, striking near the water-line, may sink a 100-gun ship. This simple fact at once shows the formidable character of such an armament for coast defence, especially for such coasts as those of our southern States, so deficient in deep harbors, or for those of the West Indies, where, although there are good harbors, there are also good banks and sounds, and numerous reefs and keys, with the most entangled navigation, inaccessible to any but craft of this description. Their advantages and peculiarities are, that they can be constructed in one month to any extent, in all parts of the United States. They would float down the Ohio and the Missouri, and spring forth *subito* from every creek and bay of our extensive territory. The range of their armament being greater and their draught less than that of the enemy, they would inflict injury of longer than they would receive it. Their fire being a *feu de sape*, would make and have in the hulls of their antagonists, while they would scarcely present a target for their broadsides. In a naval combat the fire of 50 or 100 such gun-boats, concentrated upon the advanced ship of the enemy's squadron, would sink her before she could bring more than her chase guns to bear upon them. In support of a fort, or overtopping works, they might often answer as a water or flanking battery, and in the attack of fortresses they could take a position inaccessible to larger ships. For the transportation of an army from one point of the coast to another, from the continent to any of the neighboring islands, they would be invaluable, as they could avoid or give battle at will, thus baffling intervening squadrons, land troops with ease, and afford them, whilst they landed, the very best protection; all this with the speed, certainty, and regularity of steam navigation. They could be more easily officered and manned than vessels of larger size, and their crews, from the nature of the service, could be relieved more than those of the latter. In fine, they are such as to give us in the hands of our seamen, and at a very short notice, not only the perfect control of our shallow rivers, bays, and coasts, but, if necessary, of the whole group of islands contiguous to the continent. For other purposes steam line-of-battle ships and floating batteries, on the new principle adopted by the English, would be indispensable. These, however, would act as *Machinaria phantasma*, or, when detached, as a bold gladiator on the deep; but the

ARMED NEUTRALITY.—LIGHT-DRAUGHT STEAMERS.—THEIR ADAPTABILITY TO OUR NATIONAL DEFENCE.

"*Seu vis potens, para bello*," is a trite but truthful adage, which applies to nations as well as to individuals. The power for retaliation or for stern resistance among the former as among the latter prevents aggression and forestalls assault. The feebleness of our navy is such as to invite both acts on all sides. Among other patriotic processes, the Philadelphia North American has, some days since, a forcible editorial on the necessity of providing for our national defence, if we would be respected, adducing no less an authority than that of the "Father of his Country," whose apostolic word has warned us, on more than one occasion, that a rank is due to us among the nations which will be withheld by an exhibition of weakness.

But were we wanting in the teachings of his wisdom, the occurrences of the few past weeks would show us that a spirit is abroad among powerful alliances that broods no good to the safety and the welfare of our country, and which waits with an impatience undignifiedly repressed but for a favorable opportunity to break forth in overt and decided acts. Lord Clarendon has already intimated that the purposes of the Anglo-French alliance look to the western as well as to the eastern hemisphere. The London Herald has told us recently that grasping America would be made to crawl back into her shell by the combined squadrons of England and France; and even the cautious Louis Napoleon can, at this period of his entanglement, find such wolf and lamb-like causes for complaint against the government of the United States as the acts of Mr. Dillon for the invasion of Sonora, and the address of Mr. Sanders, a private citizen, to the liberals of France. When the water is thus made to "run up stream," their ships may not be long in turning down our commerce, or in striking at that most vital point of the confederacy, the straits of Florida.

We would have peace—no, more, we want it. Through peace we conquer. We conquer with the olive held in the hands of our commerce, East and West, to fold the world. We conquer wealth and power with genius and enterprise, and our institutions conquer for us the "God-speed" of the nations, and the hearts, and the hearts, the hearths of the oppressed around us. But we shall have no peace, unless we can command it. We cannot *crave* it, as a very few of our presses would feel disposed to do. We must buckle on the shield while the sword is yet unsheathed, and in the scabbard it may remain. Assuming, then, that we must arm to some extent to ward off the necessity of having to arm on a gigantic scale, I will attempt to throw out such suggestions as the observation of passing events has prompted me to venture, soliciting indulgence for my errors on the plea of my intentions. We cannot, in time of peace, incur the cost of an armament which would run up by scores of millions our national indebtedness; but we can, without great sacrifice, look our own upon this continent. We should first guard our shores, our coastwise, extensive bays and inlets, and our shallow coasts. We should, furthermore, provide for the protection of our isthmian commerce, through and past our "mare clausum," the Gulf of Mexico; then let our clippers loose, if necessary, and our *Ironclads*. The recent operations of the allies have disclosed two facts: 1st, the importance of the Minie rifle for various purposes of war; 2d, the adaptation of large shell-guns to light-draught steamers for warfare in shallow waters and intricate navigation. The War Department has lately introduced into the service, with commendable foresight, a professional ship, the French *Arctique*, which will probably lead to the adoption by our militia of the improved tactics for a weapon eminently efficient in the hands of our countrymen. What the Minie rifle is on land, the new light-draught war steamer is on the sea—with this peculiarity, that both require that self-reliance and individual daring which are the characteristics of our people. We have seen recently that the most powerful naval armament that the world has ever seen has failed even to attempt a blow upon the Russian strongholds in the Baltic, and the allies have turned upon small steamers of six feet draught, aided by some floating batteries, to effect that which their superb first-rates of 131 guns have proved unable to perform. Well, our coast and our bays, our sounds and inlets, our rivers, and, above all, the West India islands, which will probably be the theatre of our operations, the Alacranes, and the Colorado, all of a most intricate navigation, afford a parallel to the Baltic, and present innumerable positions which the ships that form the pride of Europe would find untenable if a proper system of defence were adopted by us. I suggest, therefore, that, in addition to steam line-of-battle ships—which we are almost in total want, and the necessity for which on the *high sea*, and for distant service, cannot be obviated by any other craft—we construct vessels propelled by steam, of from four to six feet draught, mounting each two of the heaviest columbiads which they can be made to carry, and in such numbers as the foresight of Congress may determine and the probable danger to our commerce render necessary.

To make their utility plain, let us suppose that a powerful fleet of the enemy were sent to the straits of Florida to cut off our immense exports from the Mississippi, stop our coasting trade between the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, and menace our southern borders with depredation, and with a descent of Cuba and Jamaica blocks. Could such a fleet long live in the vicinity of two, five, or ten hundred light-draught steam vessels, carrying 19 or 21-inch columbiads, and manned by the Paul Joneses and Deatons who would spring up from our navy and merchant service? Finding a convenient retreat at Key West, the Tortugas, the innumerable keys of Cuba, her shallow southern coast, the Florida reefs, the Florida Alacranes, the Colorado, which they would find it would make a dash the moment an opportunity presented itself of exhibiting their prowess.

It is true that at close quarters large vessels-of-war would have over these craft the advantage of high bulwarks. They are, however, not intended for such service, but for attacking them at a long range, and from those shallow waters in which the positions I have mentioned so much abound. It is also true that an equal number of line-of-battle ships of ours would dispose, in all probability, if we judge of the future by the past, of any fleet the enemy might send across the Atlantic; but when would they be built? Very late, if ever—too late to answer the purposes that a less costly and more widely armament would almost instantly effect—the right policy of our coasts and of its neighboring islands.

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steam "gun vessels" I have mentioned would prove in our hands either American rifles or *Thalassian crows*.

Having diffidently ventured these remarks—for I am no seaman—upon the tide of public notice, it remains for the genius of my adopted countrymen to correct what may be erroneous, or improve what may deserve it. Their patriotism, no one can doubt, will do the rest.

A. J. G.

From the Columbus Statesman and Democrat.

REVIEW OF DEMOCRATIC FINANCIAL POLICY—1837 AND 1864.

There are very striking points of difference between the monetary revolution that commenced in 1836 and that which has now suspended the business life of the country. Then, the federal and State governments were involved in the general wreck—the former suddenly becoming bankrupt, although having millions of paper money in its treasury.

Now, the general and State governments are unembarrassed—the credit and resources of both being ample for any crisis of peace or war which may happen.

The debts of the States were then nearly as large as now, their credit was entirely prostrate; and, in addition, they had upon their hands gigantic schemes of internal improvements just commenced.

There are now no embarrassments or burdens by the federal or State governments that are felt by the people. Democratic policy has accomplished this. The States have entirely divorced themselves from all internal-improvement schemes; and railroad corporations, stimulated, in many instances, to embark in wild and utopian projects by injudicious and unconstitutional grants of the public domain, counties, cities, &c., are now alone the sufferers from a tempest which, from 1837 to 1862, involved the State governments, and drove them to the very brink of ruin.

In 1837 the treasury of the United States broke down, with its coffers full of bank bills, and the government was compelled to resort to the miserable expedient of issuing shin-plasters, in the form of treasury notes, to maintain its existence. In 1854 it has vaults of its own, and they are filled with ample cash means to meet promptly every demand upon the treasury.

The aggregate indebtedness, however, on account of railroad improvements, is now much greater than in 1837, for the canal, slack-water, and turnpike improvements of that day. We have no data by which to estimate the amount of this indebtedness, but do not hesitate to say that in Ohio the debts of counties, cities, and even recently-organized wilderness townships in swamps only fit to be inhabited by wild cat banks, cannot be less than fifty millions of dollars. And not a dollar of this immense indebtedness has been authorized by laws passed since the adoption of the present constitution. This legacy of county and municipal debt is among the least of the old whig régime, which was about the last bequest of the whigs under the old constitution. This financial tempest is painfully destructive, but all interests would have yielded to the blast had it not been for the foresight and good sense of the democracy of the States of Ohio and Indiana, in crushing out the system of stock subscriptions by interdicting its new organic law.

The present constitution of Ohio limits the public debt; cuts off plunder-laws by prohibiting the State from becoming a stockholder in any company or association formed for any purpose whatever; prevents the assumption by the State of these debts of counties, cities, &c., and inhibits the general assembly from authorizing any county, city, &c., by vote of its citizens or otherwise, to become a stockholder in any joint stock company, corporation, or association whatever. The constitution of Indiana, adopted by the democracy of that State in the same year, we believe, contains similar restraints. These provisions, it will be remembered, were assailed by the whigs, and what the whigs predicted, in another source, has been the result of all public improvement will prove the salvation of these States. Had these constitutions been defeated, and whig policy prevailed, this system of stock subscriptions by the local governments would have continued, piling up debts beyond the power of the enumeration table to reach, and which would have been used as a *basis* for FREE BANKING—and now, on the first approach of the present storm, the banks would all have been in ruins, and county, city, town, and township governments of the State would have been hurried into the abyss of bankruptcy and wholesale repudiation. No honest man of sane mind will gainsay this proposition.

It is this railroad mania, which has crowded the system far in advance of the wants of the country, which has sunk millions of money in unproductive schemes, and which is now in the market, competing with the current business of the State, offering ruinous rates for money, thereby aggravating and prolonging the existing monetary troubles.

The managers of multitudes of railroad schemes have it now in their power to save themselves from hopeless bankruptcy, and afford substantial relief to the country, by postponing the prosecution of their projects until the wants of commerce and more propitious times shall call for their completion. Urging forward unfinished and unproductive schemes at a time like this, when the rates of money and labor are so high, and when the collection of stock subscriptions from individuals is so difficult, has a powerful tendency to prolong the crisis of our country.

In 1837, Mr. Van Buren, in his message to the extra session of Congress, estimated the amount of gold and silver in the country at \$70,000,000 or \$80,000,000. Now the annual production of the California gold mines exceeds the entire amount then in the country. The annual products of the California mines from 1848 to 1853, inclusive, have been as follows:

1848.....\$38,092

1849.....51,968

1850.....48,241,165

1851.....84,434,355

1852.....90,150,000

1853.....99,864,753

Thus we have as a basis to check the force of the pressure of 1854 an annual supply from a State which, when the proposition to acquire it was first proposed by a democratic administration, was declared by whiggery as a debt of wealth, the foreign immigration has been unprecedented in the last year, and has added immensely to the wealth of the country. To pursue the parallel further would make this article of unendurable length. We shall resume the subject again, and only add here that the elements of national wealth exist in too profuse abundance to permit us to believe that the present difficulties are to be of long duration. Bank and railroad bubbles will have their end, but the legitimate business interests of the country will within a few weeks have seen their darkest hour.

From the Port Gibson (Miss) Reveille.

STATE-RIGHTS MEN OF THE NORTH.

Notwithstanding the fact that northern politicians, generally, are hostile to the institution of slavery in the South, still it is not to be denied that there are some honorable exceptions to this remark. There are men in the North who, though taught from childhood to believe, as they do now conscientiously believe, that slavery is a moral, social, and political evil, nevertheless regard it as a question of purely local concern, to be decided upon by each State for itself, and they are opposed to it, and they would vote against its introduction in the States where they reside; but they are not disposed to take away the constitutional right of every sovereign State to settle the question, and bear the responsibility of the "wrong" for itself. They know this is a right guaranteed to every State by the federal constitution. Although opposed to the principle of slavery as an abstract question, still, as friends to the constitution, they feel bound to sustain us in our constitutional rights as States. This is all the friendship we ask of them. As Mr. Clay once said, we would not have them plunge their hands in their bosoms and tear away their conscientious convictions upon any question. The people of the North have the right to think and act for themselves, and we claim the same right. They do not think slavery a moral and political evil; therefore they do not master and slave; therefore we tolerate and retain it. Their decision and action is none of our business; it is a right they enjoy under the constitution. Our decision and action is none of their business; it is a right they enjoy under the constitution. And we thank God that there are a few men in the North who take this view of the subject. The present administration takes this view of it. Senator Douglas, of Illinois, and many others of the incorruptible democracy, and members of the press of that State, take this view of it. Hon. A. C. Dodge, of Iowa, and Messrs. Bright, Lane, Hendricks, and Pettit, of Indiana; William H. Riker, of Pennsylvania; and Disney and Olds, of Ohio; together with many others in New York and other northern States, have been political martyrs to it.